

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0074

NODIS

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM AMBASSADOR

DEPARTMENT PASS LONDON

E.O. 11652:PXGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, SF

SUBJ: RHODESIA: HAWKINS GIVES VERSION OF HIS TALKS
WITH RICHARD AND VORSTER

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME THIS MORNING
TO FILL US IN ON DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE PAST 24 HOURS.
SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE EXPRESSED CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM THAT
THE RICHARD PROPOSALS MIGHT OFFER A BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT.
HE FELT CONFIDENT THAT SMITH WOULD NOT REJECT THEM OUT
OF HAND BUT WAS UNSURE WHERE SMITH WOULD COME OUT IN THE
END. HAWKINS SAID HE HAD DETECTED A HARDER LINE OUT OF
SALISBURY IN RECENT WEEKS. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO:

(A) THE INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF FIGHTING AND THE CHANGE
IN GUERRILLA TACTICS; (B) THE UNQUALIFIED BACKING BY THE
FRONT LINE PRESIDENT (FLPS) OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT; AND
(C) THE CONTENT AND TONE OF RECENT MUGABE AND NKOMO
STATEMENTS,

2. HAWKINS-RICHARD MEETING -- MORNING OF JANUARY 19:
READING FROM HIS TELEGRAPHIC REPORT TO SALISBURY, HAWKINS
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GAVE ME THESE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CONVERSATION. HAWKINS
SAID TVAT RICHARD HAD GIVEN HIM COPY OF BRITISH PAPER
WITH REQUEST THAT HE FORWARD IT TO SALISBURY IN ADVANCE
OF HIS VISIT. HAWKINS ANTICIPATED TO RICHARD THAT SMITH
WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN SITTING WITH MUGABE IN
ANY CAPACITY. RICHARD RESPONDED THAT MUGABE SHOULD BE
GIVE A ROLE IN GOVERNMENT BUT WOULD PROBABLY FAIL TO

OBTAIN ANY GREAT ELECTORAL SUPPORT IN THE ELCTIONS HELD DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. RICHARD MADE CLEAR THAT IF THE RHODESIANS DID NOT ACCEPT TH PROPOSALS AS A REASONABLE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION, THEN HE MIGHT AS WELL PACK UP AND RETURN TO LONDON. IF THIS WERE TO HAPPEN, RHODESIA WOULD BE FACED WITH ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM. HAWVINS SAID THAT RICHARD CLAIMED THAT THE FLPS HAD ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF CEASEFIRE AND LIFTING OF SANCTIONS ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. RICHARD HAD FOUND MUCH SURPRISE AMONG THE FLPS ABOUT THE FUSS RAISED OVER THE CEASEKIRE QUESTION BECAUSE THEY HAD NOT GIVEN A COMMITMENT ON THIS ASPECT BEFORE. HAWKINS SAID HE TOLD RICHARD THAT THE RHODESIANS WOULD TAKE SOME CONVINCING THA THE FLPS AND NATIONALISTS WOULD NOT "RAT" ON THIS UNDERTAKING AFTER THE "COMMITMENTS" WHICH PRECEDED THE SEPT. 24 SPEECH. RICHARD NOTED THAT MACHEL SAID THAT IF HE WERE A NATIONALIST, HE WOULD ACCEPT THE BRITISH PEROPOSALS. HAWKINS ASKED RICHARD WHETHER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS AND WHETHER THE FLPS WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO ENSURE ACCEPTANCE. RICHARD GAVE A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO BOTH PARTS OF THE QUESTION. RICHARD TOLD HAWKINS THAT HE HAD THE SUPPORT OS BOTH THE OUTGOING AND INCOMING US SECRETARY OF STATE FOR BRITISH INITIATIVE. IN FACT, HE HAD RECEIVED AN ENCOURAGING SIGNAL FROM SECRETARY VANCE DURING THE PAST FEW HOURS. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF AN "INTERNAL SOLUTION," RICHARD TOLD HAWKINS THAT A ZUPO-MUZOREWA-WHITE ALLIANCE IS NOT A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT PROPOSALS. OTHER NATIONALISTS WERE A FACT

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OF LIFE AND THEIR LEADERSHIP HAD IN SOME WAY TO BE INVOLVED AND IF POSSIBLE TAMED. SUMMING UP RICHARD TOLD HAWKINS THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE:

- A. CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION BUT NOT IMMUTABLE PROPOSALS--NOT AN ULTIMATUM--NOT R TAKE-DT-OR-LEAVE-IT PROPOSITION;
- B. EXTREMELY CONFIDENTIAL AND SHOULD BE HANDLED AS SUCH; AND
- C. AN EFFORT TO FACILITATE DISCUSSIONS AND HE HOPED THAT PEOPLE WOULD NOT TAKE FIXED POSITIONS IN ADVANCE

3. VORSTER-HAWKINS MEETING -- AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 19:
HAWKINS SAID HE HAD BEEN "SUMMONED" TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ON COMPLETION OF VORSTER'S TALKS WITH RICHARD. READING FROM HIS CABLE TO SALISBURY ON HIS MEETING WITH THE PM, HAWKINS AID VORSTER LED OFF BY NOTING THAT THERE WAS "NOTHING TERRIBLY NEW" IN THE

BRITISH PROPOSALS BUT THAT THE CONTENTS OF THE PAPER HAD BEEN CLEARED WITH THE FLPS, MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, BUT NOT WITH MUGABE AND NKOMO. VORSTER NEXT TOLD HAWKINS THAT HE WAS NOT PRESCRIBING FOR RHODESIA, BUT SMITH MUST CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES OF TAKING AN INTRANSIGENT POSITION. LOOKED AT IN THIS LIGHT, IT WAS WISE FOR SMITH TO HEAR RICHARD OUT. ACCORDING TO HAWKINS, VORSTER COUNSELLED:

- A. AVOID BEING BLAMED FOR BREAKING OFF THE TALKS;
- B. GO ALONG WITH THE TALKS AT THIS STAGE;
- C. NEGOTIATE FOR AS MANY IMPROVEMENTS AS YOU CAN GET;
- D. TALK TO RICHARD AGAIN AFTER HE SEES THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS.

4. HAWKINS-RICHARD MEETING -- LATE AFTERNOON OF JANUARY 19:
HAWKINS SAID HE HAD BEEN ASKED TO COME TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT 5:30 P.M. TO RECEIVE CROSLAND'S
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REPLY TO SMITH'S LETTER OF JANUARY 14 (CAPE TOWN 0045).
HE GAVE ME A COPY OF THE LETTER TEXT WHICH IS BEING FORWARDED IN THE NEXT FOLLOWING CABLE. HAWKINS OBSERVED THAT HE THOUGHT IT WAS A "GOOD RESPONSE" WHICH I TOOK TO MEAN A RATHER WISE WAY TO HANDLE SMITH'S ALMOST PETULANT COMMUNICATION.

5. RICHARD'S PROGRAM IN RHODESIA: HAWKINS SAID HE HAD SPOKEN WITH KEN FLOWER WHO CONFIRMED THAT RICHARD-SMITH APPOINTMENT HAD BEEN SET UP FOR FRIDAY MORNING WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF SECOND SESSION ON SUNDAY OR MONDAY. THE FIRST MEETING IS TO BE EXPLORATORY AND THE SECOND MORE DEFINITIVE. IN BETWEEN THE PRIVATE SECTOR COORDINATING COMMITTEE WOULD TAKE MR. RICHARD ON A TOUR OF FACILITIES TO LET HIM SEE WHAT MAKES THE COUNTRY TICK ECONOMICALLY.

6. THE MOOD IN SALISBURY AND STATUS OF THE FIGHTING:
IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ON BOTH THESE ASPECTS, HAWKINS SAID THAT THE "SENSIBLE" PEOPLE IN SALISBURY RECOGNIZE THAT RHODESIA MUST SEEK A REASONABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION. BUT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS ARE A LONG WAY FROM ANNEX C AND THE FIVE POINTS AND THIS CONSTITUTES A SEVERE JOLT TO SMITH AND THE ELECTORATE. HE WOULD NOT WANT TO UNDERESTIMATE THIS PROBLEM. WITH RESPECT TO THE FIGHTING, HAWKINS SAID THAT AT PRESENT THE RHODESIAN FORCES CLEARLY MAINTAIN THE UPPER HAND. BUT THE PROBLEM IS THAT NO MATTER HOW MANY GUERRILLAS ARE KILLED, THE FLOW TO THE CAMPS CONTINUES. ONE HAS TO ASSUME THAT WITH TIME THE QUALITY OF THESE FORCES WILL IMPROVE AND THE WEAPONRY BECOME MORE SOPHISTICATED. THEREIN LIES THE DILEMMA.

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